292 encompass the head, and tied with strings at the back of the head. These strings were sometimes wound around the hair which had been pulled into a bunch at the nape.

Personal care.--Both sexes brushed the
302 hair daily with a soaproot brush. Men would do
515 this in the morning if they had no immediate work. Women more often brushed and arranged their hair in the early afternoon after returning from seed-gathering, pounding acorns, or other arduous work. For washing hair, chips of
[388] dried soaproot were put in a large basket of warm water. This was done at the creekside if possible and the hair was rinsed in running water. Normally the hair was not washed while swimming.

Both sexes took care in the disposal of
754 hair which, if found by a malicious shaman or by an evil person who would take it to a shaman, could be used for contagious magic. (How this was accomplished M.L. could not say.) Women hid their hair combings until a large bunch had collected, then took this to a spring of water where it was buried under a stone. To do this not only ensured safety from magic but aided the hair on the head by causing it to grow
[826] more luxuriantly. Combings were not burned because this would cause the living hair to fall out prematurely. Menstruants scratched the
[841] head with a stick; otherwise the hairs would split and fall out.

Spittle was covered over to protect it from shamans.

Nail "parings" (if any) were not protected.
826 Some people tore off nails but most kept them ground down by rubbing them on a small water-rolled stone. A woman, particularly an old one, might let a left thumb- or big-toenail grow excessively. This served as an instrument in shelling nuts, seeds, splitting basket materials, or even as a personal weapon. When such a nail broke off, it was left anywhere.

M.L. recounted the following of her maternal grandmother who had a long toenail.

826 One of Ju''ulneš' daughters had married a man who was a reckless gambler. He lost every-
539 thing. Then he played the chip and pole game with a man, bet his wife as the stake, and lost her. The men became angry and began to fight. The old woman, looking on, was very mad at her son-in-law whom she already despised as worthless. She grabbed some ropes of ča and [presumably with the help of the man's opponent] succeeded in tying up the culprit. Then Ju'ulneš picked up some stones and hit him. As he fell she kicked him and cut his penis with her long toenail. She was so pleased with her success that she kept her nail long thereafter.

Ceremonial dress.--The fundamental parts
292 of ceremonial regalia, usually worn by shamans when engaged in public dances or rituals, were the feather headdress and feather skirt. Additional ornaments of feathers, skins, beads,

[text continues on p. 69]

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

755 If a person met a ghost (tawa'tsa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

[827] J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho'ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress
535 regalia as when dancing: feather headdress,
292 weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt,
237 feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer
755 to accompany him and a winatum to assist him.
522 It was the privilege of anyone who wished or dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826]
[435]

[254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (aho'ot) skin.

756 heavy, there were no shouts or urgings from the
769 onlookers as there were at games: the spec-
789 tators watched in sober silence.

The shamans assembled in two groups at opposite ends of the assembly space. With them were youths and boys carrying "long poles, pieces of brush, or anything they wanted to grab" (J.P.). When ready, the shamans in single file, followed by their winatums and by the youths waving the poles, advanced toward the center. A man on each side would cry "Hu·'u·'o·'o·'o·'" three times, and the audience would respond three times with "A·'a·'a·h!" During the contest, the youths kept up a continuous explosive grunting while parading and a sort of "Oh'! oh'! oh'!". The two lines of contestants passed around each other in two arcs and came to a halt facing each other about thirty feet apart. The shamans were ranged in a single row while their more exuberant young cohorts remained behind at a safe distance. When the chief ordered them to start, all the shamans raised their trays in the air, shook them and, whirling so that their backs were turned to their opponents, slammed their trays face downward on the ground. Each time this was done a shot flew from the tray at a rival, and this was repeated until the rival fell unconscious or the aggressor himself fell a victim. As the men dropped they were carried off to a shade by two winatums who were paid by the host group (unless the shaman had a personal winatum to aid him). This magic bombardment continued until only two shamans remained on their feet. This crisis always seems to have been attained. They fought a long time; the best man was believed to have the greatest supernatural gifts. Such men remained to the last because of their ability to pick the air-shot off themselves at the very instant it hit, whereas others were knocked down. The weasel-
● [826] skin wristlets served as protectors of the vulnerable spot on the wrist; the weasels "swallowed" the shots. When one of this last pair finally fell, the victor staggered backward exhausted, and, assisted by winatums, reclined panting under a shade.

Now the host chief called his people together. His winatums collected money and gifts which were distributed to the chiefs of the
[152] tribes whose shamans had participated in the contest. Everyone present was crying. "They cried and cried right up to the middle of the night" (J.P.).

In the meantime the injured shamans were being revived. A host winatum went to the winner and asked him to remove the shot from his fallen rival. J.P. maintained that they got doctors who had not participated to revive the others, but M.L., S.G., and J.B. claimed that each shaman in turn revived those men who had been his victims. The revival was accomplished by the brushing method of curing. A shaman took a feather from his headdress or

[P. 159 a] Dumna

787 He saw sloping hillsides with trees on them, and everywhere there were hundreds of people. He could see directly in front of him and well off toward the right, but to the left he saw nothing. On that side he just saw Missionary Y's back where he was walking off toward the left and disappeared.[46]

B.W.'s relatives came up to welcome him and they told him to stay with them now. But he refused, saying that it was not yet time for him to live in heaven. He did not see God anywhere in heaven, but he could hear him talking. Everything was green there.

When B.W. ended he added, in the prayerful manner in which the sun, water, morning star, etc., are addressed, "God is with me all the time and makes me well."

Beginning of White Occupation

773 After narrating the Dumna creation myth, B.W. added a coda of his own:

Then God dropped acorns, manzanita, and all the seeds that were needed. In the spring the salmon came, were dried, and were taken home. On the Sacramento [River] it was just the same. The Indians moved around everywhere at this time, went anywhere to pick acorns. Everything was loose [free] The [Dumna] people camped along the river [San Joaquin] all the way down to Firebaugh.[47]

173 Then he continued his narrative:

648 Then white people came, about seven or eight miles up Madera Creek. They wanted to

[Text continues Top of Page 159b, ---- Analyst]

KECHAYI

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS AND LOCALITIES

648 Tribal areas, localities, and sites were not obtained from E.M. Her information on tribal relations corroborates the statements of others that close contacts between Yokuts and Western Mono date only from about 1860 onward. Since her childhood, and particularly since the Ghost Dance of 1870, intercourse has been more facile between the Mono and Yokuts groups on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. When people gathered at Table Mountain for the Ghost Dance, the Eastern Mono would

[826]

[Text continues bottom P. 159b]

[797]

[46] B.W. described Missionary Y as "a lover of the Indians' money." He was always asking for money which he took away to a near-by town. B.W. said he told his boy not to put money in the collection plate while Y was the missionary because "he loved the Indians, but he loved their money too much." In contrast, Missionary X, who superseded Y, was cited as a good man.

[47] Gayton and Newman, 28.

173 catch an Indian. The people on the Creek had
648 never seen any white people or Mexicans before;
they were all scared and hid around in the
[609] hills. But some were caught, among them B.W.'s
father, his brother, and himself A bullet had
hit his brother. They went back into their
village B.W.'s father was the headman and he
asked the white men to leave their guns at home
unless they wanted to have fights. The white
men said they just wanted to make friends.
Then his father called all his people together
and told them to go down [where?] to the "white
fandango." About twenty or thirty went and
were given food, hats, and coats. Then others
went down. They had been told to come once a
month for presents.

A man [named Dover?] had one hundred and
sixty acres of land where he wanted the Indians
to be placed. All the headmen, Gashowu, Tachi,
everybody, were sent for B.W. went with his
father. The government wanted to make schools.
Each morning two white men and [native] inter-
preters told them what was going to take place.
Then a white man [Dover?] went over to Kings
River to see the Indians there, but he got
killed. The Indians called him Ca wis. The
government sent no money at this time. But
this was the beginning of all bad things --
sickness and drunkenness -- and all the Indians
went.

435 On another occasion B.W. declared that the
648 high price of native basketry was due to the
fact that some white land owners charged Indian
women for the privilege of coming on their
property to get the grasses and roots needed.
He said that "over on Kings River" some men
charged $2.50 a day for the gathering of basket-
ry materials on their land.

KECHAYI

648 feel the wrists of their partners in the dance.
●826 If they had hard wrists, the Mono knew they
were Mono also; if the wrists were soft, the
dancers were Yokuts. The Eastern Mono con-
[192] versed with the Yokuts through their linguistic
and cultural kin, the Western Mono people
(Yayanchi and Posgisa). When these said the
Yokuts were friends, the Eastern Mono left them
alone.

648 E.M. recounted the story of a war with
Mono people which occurred before she was born.
462
222 Long ago [before E.M. was born] a number
of Yokuts people from the Chukchansi, Kechayi,
and Gashowu tribes were camping east of Friant.
They had all gone there for acorn-gathering.
It was the general practice that the men, im-
mediately after the morning meal, went out to
shake down the acorns. Leaving these to be
collected by the women, they then went off for
the day to hunt or fish. Toward sundown they
returned and helped the women crack the nuts.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
W EP. 237 E. Western MWD NS25
Y
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539

there see the new spirit coming; they go to welcome him and lead him to his relatives' fire. Games and dancing are in course everywhere. But when the morning star rises, everything disappears until dusk, when it becomes visible again.[176]

W
Y
765
[765]

Mourning.---The house in which death occurred was always abandoned; although it was not invariably burned, no one else would move into it. The former inmates built themselves a new house, not necessarily far off -- "fifty feet maybe." Mourning observances were maintained by bereaved spouses, parents, or offspring; siblings, cousins, grandparents, or relatives-in-law did not observe them unless the circumstances of life -- propinquity, or physical or emotional dependence -- had brought them abnormally close to the dead person. The length of time mourning endured depended again on the degree of bereavement. A widow was expected to mourn a year, a widower but three months, as minimal periods. Usually a small personal ritual ended deep mourning, so to say, after three to six months, but spiritual mourning and the meat tabu, continued until the large annual tribal mourning ceremony was held.

W
Y
302
82 [L]

The observances of mourning were as follows. The hair was singed off close to the head with a hot charred stick; the hair was always disposed of in water and weighted down with a stone, never buried nor burned [reason unknown to any informant). Dirt was allowed, even encouraged by the use of pitch, to accumulate on the face and body; only the hands were washed. No meat or grease might be eaten, although yellowjackets' nests (tabu to pregnant women) were admissible as food. No visiting was done save among relatives, and attendance at any ceremony was unthinkable. A brooding attitude was maintained, and old women frequently released their melancholy in wailing outside the village at dawn and dusk.

W
Y
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Verbal observances by others who were not themselves mourners were: a tabu on the name of the dead person, the changing of one's name if it were that of the deceased, and the changing of kinship terms for relatives connected with the speaker through the deceased. The changing of one's name was not a difficulty, as only one person in a family -- usually a paternal grandchild, grandnephew, or grandniece -- could possibly have it. The change need not be permanent, as the tabu was lifted after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Furthermore, a change could be made by phonetic distortion, as in kinship terms, if one did not wish to take a wholly new name. Nicknames were often coined and applied at such times.

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[176] At this point S.O. volunteered the "Orpheus Myth" in order to explain to me how the nature of the afterworld was known to man (see Gayton, Orpheus Myth; Gayton and Newman, 35).

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as follows:[32]

The bear men remembered are Unurigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Teineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.

All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in giving the dance was as follows:[33]

A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kitceyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Waksachi (WM) came. Everyone had to attend this ceremony during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over which the doctors had control through dreams.)

A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission. If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

[32] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.
[33] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter.